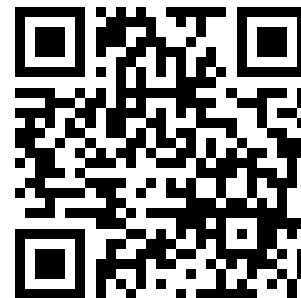

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LATELY PUBLISHED,

Price 4s. in boards,

AN ACCOUNT OF THE COLONY OF
SIERRA LEONE,

From its first Establishment in 1793;

Being the Substance of two REPORTS delivered to the PROPRIETORS: the latter containing an Account of the Plundering of the Settlement by the French, and of the Measures taken subsequent to their Departure. Published by Order of the Directors.

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

REPORT,

DELIVERED, BY THE

COURT OF DIRECTORS

OF THE

SIERRA LEONE COMPANY,

TO THE

GENERAL COURT OF PROPRIETORS,

On Thursday, the 29th March, 1798.

With an Index to this, and all the preceding Reports.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY

JAMES PHILLIPS & SON,

GEORGE YARD,

LOMBARD STREET.

1798.



At a General Court of Proprietors of the Sierra Leone Company, held at the Paul's Head Tavern Gateaton-street, London, on Thursday, the 29th of March, 1798,

HENRY THORNTON, Esq. M. P. IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last General Court, of the 30th of March 1797, being read and confirmed,

The Chairman read a Report to the Proprietors, containing a general statement of the Affairs of the Company, from the last General Court, to the present time.

Resolved Unanimously,

"THAT the thanks of this Court be given to the Chairman and Court of Directors, for their conduct during the last year, and for their communications this day.

Resolved,

"That it be referred to the Directors to consider of the propriety of printing the whole, or any part of the Report, which has been this day read, with such alterations or additions, as they may see expedient.



SUBSTANCE OF THE REPORT, &c.

SINCE the last General Meeting, the Court of Directors have received from Sierra Leone, two half-yearly accounts of the state of the Colony, ending in June 1797, the contents of which, they conceive, cannot fail to be interesting to the Proprietors, and to the friends of Africa in general. The Directors propose to lay before the Proprietors, the substance of those two accounts, under the *general* heads of Health, Trade, Cultivation and Civilization.

H E A L T H.

IT must give pleasure to every friend of this Establishment to learn, that, from Nov. 1795 to June 1797, there did not occur a single death among the Company's servants. The disorder, formerly so fatal to Europeans, has no doubt much abated, and they are now much better sheltered, from the rains, than ever.* Sickness however

* Since the Meeting of the General Court, another half-yearly account has been received, up to Jan. 1798, when the Company's servants had still experienced no mortality; so that no death had occurred among them, for about 2 years and a quarter. But scarcely any had entirely escaped indisposition, and a few had suffered considerably, in the last half year, which included nearly all the sickly season.

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has, last year, prevailed in an unusual degree. It was severe during the rains, but attended with less diminution of strength, and a speedier recovery, than heretofore. The unusual sickness, which prevailed, during some of the dry weather also, seems to require some investigation. The causes appear to have been—

1. A scarcity of Peruvian Bark, for some time.
2. The want of flour, sugar, wine, porter and similar restoratives. After the Eliza arrived with those articles, the sickness was checked; but when the supply was nearly exhausted, it again prevailed.
3. The too close application of some of the Company's servants, in retrieving the very backward state of the accounts. Several of them appropriated to business that term of convalescence, which ought to have been devoted to their recovery. Those who had little to do with the accounts, one excepted, enjoyed tolerable health.
4. A long period having passed, without a death among the Company's servants on shore, a general inattention to the means of preserving health, had followed.

In the two last years, 50 or 60 English seamen have come into the Colony; partly prisoners landed from slave-ships, taken by French cruizers; partly deserters, in consequence, as they alledged, of the cruelty of their captains. They were very sickly; but only two died at S. Leone. In general, they were, extremely dissolute.

The Bell, of Liverpool, lost two sets of men by death, a few excepted, who escaped to the Colony.

Eight seamen belonging to another Liverpool slave ship, came to S. Leone, in a boat, from the Rio Nunez. They said, their sufferings endangered their lives. Two had jumped overboard, but had been taken up again; several had died, and 14 had deserted. The rest, being threatened with still harsher treatment, for the conduct of their comrades, had left the ship in the night, in order to

get to "this Christian country," as they called the Colony.

All the English and American vessels at Rio Nunez, Rio Pongas, and C. Mount, lost so many men, that, if the captures of the French had not furnished them with fresh hands, they could not have left the Coast.

An American ship, the ———, Capt. Bofs, lost 6 or 7 men at C. Mount, and during a week's stay at S. Leone, she buried 3. The survivors were very sickly.

Of every other slave-ship on the windward coast, a similar account is to be given; except the Bance Island ships, in which there has been little or no mortality. They sail under peculiar advantages.

In the Company's small craft, are only two Europeans; and they have enjoyed tolerable health. The Eliza lost, in the river Camaroons, 4 men, by fever. The captain injudiciously remained there 3 months, during heavy rains. The rest were unhealthy; but all recovered, after their return to S. Leone. The orders of the Governor and Council have uniformly been, to employ natives, in all services trying to the health of Europeans.

In the last year, the mortality of the Nova Scotian blacks, has been greater than in any former year, the first excepted. But neither their deaths nor births can be accurately stated at present; as they are unwilling to give the necessary intelligence.

Through a late scarcity, said to have amounted to a famine in the interior, many natives are reported to have died. The natives, near S. Leone, have been healthy.

Here it may not be improper to add, that in 1795, the rains were by no means so heavy as in former years, though they fell copiously much later than usual; and that in April 1796, tornados were unusually frequent, considering the season. From these, and similar

facts, it seems probable, that, as the woods are cleared away, the rains may become lighter, and more generally diffused.*

T R A D E.

In 1795, there was a total stagnation of the slave-trade; and, had there been goods to improve the opportunity, much might have been done. When the Eliza arrived with goods, she found the slave-trade reviving; and from that time to Sep. 1796, it increased very rapidly.

Expectations of advantage, from *temporary* obstructions of the slave-trade, seem to have been too sanguine in the Colony. But it cannot be expected that, while the natives live in the daily hope of its revival, their exertions in a commerce, less suited to their habits, will be very spirited.

Since the establishment of the Colony, there has not been such a concurrence of American and Liverpool ships as appeared on the Coast from Jan. to July, 1796; and such was the increased demand for slaves, that the price per head rose from 80 to 150 bars.

By this state of things, the commercial views of the Company were much obstructed. The influence of the slave-dealers revived with their trade, and its whole weight was opposed to our progress. Hence our trade languished, as the slave-trade recovered itself; the slave-factors refusing to buy slaves of any man who should sell

* From comparing the observations of Sir Hans Sloane on the climate of Jamaica, with later ones, Mr. Long thinks that fully twice as much rain must have fallen, about Spanish town, towards the close of the last century, as falls at present, when the Island is better cleared. Hist. of Jamaica, Vol. 3. p. 648. Similar observations have been made in several other parts of the W. Indies, as well as in N. America.

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his ivory to the Company's agents. The numerous captures of the French, and the losing voyages of some Americans, again diminished the slave-trade, about the beginning of 1797, when our trade began to recover.—These observations apply to the windward coast only, that is, to the country between the Rio Nunez and C. Mount.

The Company's Trade consists of several parts.

The Sales in the Company's Store at Free Town, are *now* wholly made for money, which the natives no longer object to receive for their rice, camwood, live-stock, yams, mats, gum copal, oranges, pine apples, &c. The settlers,* many of whom have now boats carrying from 2 to 8 tons, collect the same articles, which they also sell for cash. With this, they buy fresh assortments of goods at the store, for trade. Thus a money medium has happily superseded a tedious and embarrassing barter, and the natives are now perfectly reconciled to the change.

It is scarcely necessary to add, that the cash paid to the Company's servants for wages, and to the settlers for labour, partly returns into the store, and occasions very considerable sales; as do also the erection and repair of buildings and vessels, and the maintenance of their crews.

The boats of the settlers, assisted by the small craft of the Company, have kept the Colony supplied with cattle, sheep, yams, rice, &c. procured chiefly in the Mandingo country, on pretty reasonable terms. Miss Heard, the Mulatto lady, mentioned in a former Report, always interests herself very much in expediting the boats from the Mandingo country; and indeed the people of the Colony now experience kind treatment wherever they go. Several cows have at length been procured, which have had calves and now yield milk. A considerable quantity of produce has lately been brought by the natives to

* By settlers, the reader is always to understand the Nova Scotian blacks, and a few of the black poor originally sent from England; there being few or no other settlers now in the Colony.

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the store; so that the Company's servants have had no trouble in the collection.

The Company's Factory in the Rio Pongas, called Free Port Factory, was first set on foot, when there were no trade goods in the Colony; but, even under this discouragement, there was ground to expect advantage from it; for the slave-trade was then completely at a stand. The first supply of goods which the factory received, was in the beginning of 1796, when, as before observed, the slave-trade revived unexpectedly, and introduced an unusual quantity of European goods into the interior. The slave-traders then made every effort, to turn away trade from the factory. They agreed to buy no slaves of such Foulahs, as should carry their produce to Free Port. But that was not all: people were employed to waylay the Foulahs bound to the factory; and in Feb. or March, 1796, when a large body had come within two day's journey of the Rio Pongas, bound with ivory, rice, and cattle *only*, to Free Port, a shot from the woods killed their chief. The rest immediately went back; and it is worthy of observation, that no attempt was made to plunder them, the common object of such assaults. This affair 'stopped the path,' as it is called, all that season; for no Foulah would venture that way, till the palaver was talked over, which consumed some months. The murder was traced to a native in the Kissing, a branch of the Rio Pongas, who was at the time, in the service of a slave-factor, and had gone up the country, on pretence of looking for trade. Before this palaver could be settled, a civil war broke out in the Foulah country, which has continued, with occasional interruption, till this time. The king (the same whom Mr. Watt visited) was killed, after much fighting; and the day before his successor was to have been inaugurated, he died, it is thought by poison. The authority of the king, since appointed, is disputed, and a severe struggle

is expected. These troubles have obstructed the peaceful ivory-trade. It is only in the intervals between their battles, that they resort to any sort of commerce. They then bring down their slaves and ivory, to procure ammunition. But, after all, 11 or 12 tons of ivory had come into our hands, before the 1st of May 1797, partly procured from the Foulahs, but chiefly from other natives, who had purchased of the Foulahs, and who sold to us. Several of these, in the Rio Pongas and Rio Nunez, are particularly attached to the Company, from a conviction of the fair dealings of their servants. And it is with no small satisfaction the Directors add, that the uniform good conduct of the Company's servants, has conciliated the friendship of the natives in general; and commanded, at length, the forbearance, and at least the outward respect, even of the slave-traders.

Of the friendly disposition of the Natives, the Directors will give an apposite instance in the conduct of a chief, who will be hereafter mentioned, and who has strongly solicited leave to build, at his own expense, a salt-house for the Company, at his town, situated on the banks of the Rio Nunez. To this interesting proposal, the Governor and Council consented; as the transportation of salt from the Rio Pongas, when wanted in the Rio Nunez, is very expensive. But they stipulated that the Company's salt, which might be stored up there, should be entirely at the disposal of their factor; and farther, that the salt exchanged with the chief for ivory, should be again employed by him, exclusively in the purchase of that and other articles of produce.

Not only to improve such favourable appearances, but also to watch and embrace all opportunities as they arise, the Directors join in opinion with Mr. Macaulay, that the factory in the Rio Pongas ought to be maintained.*

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* This is the factory concerning which it was stated in a former Report, that an united effort was made by the slave-traders, to induce

The want of skilful men for conducting the coasting trade; the risk to which vessels are exposed by it; the small influence it has on civilization, or in counteracting the slave-trade; the studied, though concealed, opposition of all slave-traders, who are not forced by their wants to favour the Company's trade, especially in places to which our influence scarcely reaches; and the various obstacles presented by the slave-trade itself: all these causes unite in discouraging the coasting trade. Circumstances, however, have rendered occasional coasting voyages advisable.

CULTIVATION.

CULTIVATION on the Bullom shore, for the Company's account, has hitherto proved unprofitable. The causes seem to have been:

1. The want of articles, the cultivation of which was likely to prove profitable.

2. The indolence of the natives, and the want of sufficient authority over them.

3. The difficulty which Managers, accustomed to large W. Indian estates, cultivated by slaves, have found in accommodating their ideas and expences to a small plantation, or farm, worked by free people.

On the whole, therefore, it has been resolved, for the present, to confine this undertaking to the rearing of four acres of coffee, and to the keeping up of a like extent of plantane-walk, likely to be serviceable in scarcities of

induce the natives to remove it; and that a palaver was called at the house of a white slave-factor for that purpose. The native chiefs however negatived the proposition of the slave-traders.

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rice. The management is now committed to a black settler, every way worthy of the trust, and he has 4 or 5 grumettas under him. There is much policy in employing blacks on distant services, when practicable; for the natives are less disposed to raise palavers against them, and expect less from them, as presents, than from whites.

The coffee promises to be very productive. A Teneriffe grape-vine, there, has yielded much fruit, and slips from it have been planted, on the Sierra Leone side.

Since Doctor Afzelius left the Colony, the garden of experiment has declined, every one being too much engaged by the duties of his station, to give it much attention. But the more valuable plants are still preserved with care. The cinnamon in particular, flourishes so much, as soon to promise a number of cuttings.

A small plantation on the Company's account, to be worked entirely by the job, has been begun, as an experiment, at Thomson's Bay. Something had been attempted there before, but not by the job; so unsuccessfully however, that it had been given up. When Mr. Macaulay first proposed to have a few acres cleared and planted by the job, no one would undertake it. But, being desirous of establishing so important a precedent, (in which he has since succeeded) he afterwards accepted an offer to clear and plant 3 acres with cotton, for 16 dollars an acre. The cotton failing, plants of the native coffee bought at a dollar per 100, were substituted in its place. Corn, rice, and yams have been also raised on this farm.

In 1797, the work commenced earlier; and a settler contracted to clear an additional space, at 9 dollars an acre. Five acres were cleared before the 1st of May. On these are planted about 250 plantane trees; 3600 hills of yams; about 250 plants of Brazil cotton; and 150 ginger-plants. Besides these, Indian corn is spread over the whole 8 acres, and coffee-plants over the 5 newly cleared

cleared acres. The expence, except for the clearing, has been trifling. A person is fixed on the spot, who receives 8 dollars a month, and who does himself a good part of the work. The job-work performed by others, has not exceeded 25 dollars. Coffee-plants cost now only 2½ dollars per thousand; and the expence of plants, per acre, is but about 14*s.* currency.* Such an experiment indeed, cannot be very expensive; though of its result, it may be premature to speak. Mr. Macaulay thinks, however, that if he could pay more attention to it himself, it would be far from a losing concern.†

Mr. Gray and Mr. Carr have begun farms, on their own account, about a mile and a half from Free Town, by the river side. They have built neat houses there, to which they frequently repair in the evenings for exercise, and to observe the progress of their farms. They plant coffee, Brazil cotton and other articles. The Guinea grafs flourishes there. Mr. Gray has a very neat garden, in which he has reared many valuable plants. He has besides had 3 or 4 acres of mountain land cleared, by the job, and planted with coffee.

* The dollar in England may be reckoned 4*s.* 6*d.* at a medium. At Sierra Leone it passes for 5*s.*; so that £90 sterling is equal to £100 Sierra Leone currency.—The coffee should have been raised from the seed, without being transplanted. This mistake has been lately rectified; but it will very much retard the crop, which may be expected in about 4 years, after the first planting.

† By the Dispatches dated Jan. 1798, received since the Meeting of the General Court, it appears, that the yams on the Thomson's bay farm, bid fair to go a great way towards paying the expence of extending the coffee field; but that the coffee, though likely, in the end, to turn to account, does not answer so well there, as in the Mountains.—In speaking of Thomson's bay, Mr. Macaulay expresses his surprize at the number of houses which had risen up there in his absence, and which, he observes, very strongly indicate the growing prosperity of the Colony.

Messrs.

Messrs. Wilson, Smith, Ross and Cooper, have also begun farms in the mountains, the last to a considerable extent; but his profits are doubtful.

Mr. Macaulay has cleared 5 acres in the mountains, for 10 dollars the acre. These he has planted with corn, coffee, cotton, sugar-canes, plantanes and Malaguetta pepper or grains of paradise. He has there a superintendent and two native boys, whose whole expence is 5*l.* currency a month, which will be less by 6 dollars a month, when the planting, which occupies 2 months, is finished. The house is 18 feet by 12, strongly framed, raised on posts, and neatly finished. This box, the kitchen, &c. have cost him about 75*l.* currency. Were he able to give this farm more attendance, he says he should not doubt of success. But the whole time he has passed there, has not exceeded 4 or 5 days. The Mountain land is in many places stony, but Mr. Macaulay is of opinion, that it will be generally productive. His farm lies to the southward of all the allotments.

A German, who was some time in the Company's service, has rented 10 acres of their land at Thomson's bay, for 3 years, at 15*s.* an acre; and he is cultivating it with great spirit.

The Nova Scotian settlers are still backward to go upon the Mountains; and while their neighbours permit them to cultivate an acre of land below, they prefer eating cassada, in a miserable way, to climbing the hill, where they may enrich themselves, by exertion. But this, though a frequent, is far from being an universal, case: 20 or 30 families have settled in the Mountains, and are doing well; though with more exertion they might do far better. Near Mr. Macaulay's Mountain farm, in particular, are two settlers who are cultivating their lots with vigour. One of them is the discoverer of the coffee, whom the arguments of Mr. Dawes, aided by some little premium, induced to remove to this, his distant lot. He has

has already cleared 2 acres, from the large timber which covered it, and has planted it with corn, yams, coffee, &c. Mr. Macaulay found him and his family comfortably settled, in a good log house, and quite thankful to Mr. Dawes for having led him to adopt his present plan. It requires, however, much persuasion to make those settlers engage in any culture, which does not yield an *immediate* return. 'It won't come to any thing in my time,' is their common saying. They, no doubt, are not all of this character; and the Company's servants have said so much, and set such an example, that they begin to be ashamed of their old plea. A great number of the farms below the Mountains thrive very much, under the care of their tillers. Where that care is withheld, there is little fruit, in Sierra Leone, or any other country. Many of these farms are very small, and barely sufficient to support the proprietors.*

The settlers have been very tardy in cutting down the large trees, which if they would do, they might have abundance of land for every purpose. So indolent are they, that the Malaguetta pepper, ripens and rots on the Mountains, without being picked, though a child might gather as much as would bring 1s. 6d. or 2s. a day.

A few settlers have planted coffee, sugar-canes, and cotton; and their labour promises to be amply repaid. Some cultivate Bird-pepper, a profitable article, and easily raised.

No slave-traders, except one in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, have, as far as has been heard, begun any plan of cultivation. But in 1795, when the slave-trade was suspended, and its abolition in 1796 was expected, many of them began to think seriously of cultivation.

* By the Dispatches of Jan. 1798, before quoted, it appears that a scarcity had induced the settlers greatly to enlarge their provision grounds.

In internal improvements, some progress has been made in the Colony. The roads have been put on a better footing, and the labour of the colonists has, of late, been freely yielded, for that purpose. A road to the Mountains has been begun; but not quite finished. One stout wooden bridge, in the road to Granville Town, has been made, and another is projected.

Mr. Bracey, the Company's ship-carpenter, at a time when he had not much to do in his own department, was desired by Mr. Macaulay, to attempt the construction of a sugar-mill; and he effected it, in a way which did much credit to his ingenuity and ability. The iron-work, being made in the Colony, is no doubt defective.* The rollers, though made of hard wood, yet not being cased, as they ought, with strong hollow cylinders of cast-iron, are likely, if much used, to be soon worn down by the great friction. But it answered quite well, upon being tried with a few bundles of canes, from which 10 or 12lb of sugar were extracted. Some hundred weights are soon expected to be made.

Mr. Macaulay observes, that, during his absence, Freetown had much improved in point of appearance and comfort, and that the expence of living had been much reduced; 18s. currency a week being now the common rate of board. A settler has contracted to furnish his table with every thing but liquors for 20s. a week per head. Beef has been as low as 4d. per lb.

* This is not surprizing. A sugar-mill, having a very great resistance to overcome, requires iron-work of large dimensions, and of the best quality. Accordingly all the large iron-work of the sugar-mills in the West Indies, is fabricated in Europe.

The Directors, before they enter upon Civilization, by far the most extensive general head, will state to the Proprietors, the amount of the present Funds of the Company.

They have in England, in Stocks, valued only at the present Market Price, which cost £51,672	£ 35968 7
Cash at the Bankers	171 15
Making together	36140 2
They have in Shipping and in Goods in England, on the Seas and in Africa, about	22920
Making the whole of the Company's Property to be about	59060 2
Exclusive of Dead Stock, viz. a Governor's house, Church, Warehouses, and other Buildings, Wharf, and Works of Defence, and the Company's Estate, &c. &c. estimated at	11500
The total Expenditure of the last year appears to have been as follows:	£
Home Establishment	750
Amount of Salaries for one Year, at Sierra Leone, a part of which may be considered as commercial Charges	3380
Schools	578
Allowance for Governor's Table, Passage for Servants to and from Sierra Leone, Medicines, and all Incidental Charges, of which a small part may be considered as commercial	711
Making the Year's Expences to be	5419
To which must be added a sum expended in replacing some part of the Buildings, destroyed by the French, and in Cultivation, &c.	1884
Total Year's Expences (being exclusive of £2500 expended in Buildings, but which is not considered as Expenditure; the Dead Stock being supposed to have increased in value to that amount.)	7303

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The Court of Directors have taken into their very serious and repeated consideration, What may be the best means of retrenching the Company's expenditure. They have, in the last year, carried into effect the determination come to in the former year, To reduce materially the home establishment, by changing the office, by uniting, in the same person, the duties of secretary and accountant, and by limiting all the other charges of office to a moderate, and as nearly as possible, to a fixed sum. At Sierra Leone, they have not yet effected all the reduction which the Company's circumstances require; but they have taken measures for this purpose, and have not replaced some of the servants who, from sickness, have come home, and retired from the service.

One measure adopted in the last year, with a view to retrenchment, the Directors will here state. They remarked, in a former Report, the great importance of continuing to the Nova Scotians both a governing Body, and teachers from hence. For, if the assistance of white persons should be totally withdrawn, they would, probably, soon be assimilated to the natives,* and, eventually, would resort to the slave-trade, as the easiest means of subsistence; and thus all those pleasing hopes of introducing civilization and Christianity into Africa, on which the Proprietors acted, when they established the Company, would be disappointed. The Directors, to obviate these dangers, and to provide for the improvement of the Colony, with the least possible expence, have adopted the measure, which they will now state.

* Even Europeans have been thus assimilated. The Spaniards, in some parts of the W. Indies, are not to be distinguished from the Indians; nor the Portuguese, in the Cape de Verd Islands, and in Congo, from the negroes. These effects have been produced on whites, in 9 or 10 generations at most. How much sooner might the black Nova Scotians be expected to assimilate with the black natives?—See the Philof. Trans. No. 476 § 4, Forster's Voy. round the World, Vol 1, page . Lord Kaim's Sketches of Man, preliminary discourse.

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They have given permission to all the Company's servants at Sierra Leone, to hold lands on their own account; and, to such of them as may receive a licence, to trade on their own account. Notice also has been given, that the salaries of those who shall avail themselves of this liberty, will be gradually diminished.

The Directors considered, that the Company perhaps would not be able, much longer, to support their present establishment of white servants in Africa; although undoubtedly, it will be extremely desirable to retain there the same individuals, they being the only Europeans of good principles, especially with respect to the slave-trade, who are likely at present to settle in those parts. If they should accept the above proposals, and commence independent traders, or cultivators, it is hoped that, with others who may become connected with them, they will form a Body to whom the Company may, in part at least, commit the government; and in whom the Nova Scotians also may learn to confide, and to elect them into situations of trust.

The Directors have been partly induced to take this measure, by the desire of transferring to those servants, the retail trade of the Colony, now managed by the Company, and contributing much to swell their establishment. The collection of produce in the neighbourhood, will also be probably undertaken by them, on their own account. The trade of the place will thus take, in a great measure, its natural course, and the Company's affairs will be narrowed; while a considerable influence in the Colony will be retained, through the continuance, for some time, of part of the salaries, through the habits of obedience to the Company, which they already possess, and which will be perpetuated by the conditions of the licences to trade, intended to be annually renewed.

The Directors have not yet matured the whole of their commercial plans. Mr. Gray, their principal servant in this branch, is now in England; and, after some farther
consultation

consultation with him, he will probably go out with some new instructions, as to the whole of this subject. The Company's trade in the last year, though limited, appears to have afforded a considerable profit.

The Directors must here remind the Proprietors, of the peculiar difficulties with which the Colony has had to struggle, from the war and its deplorable effects at Sierra Leone; and also from the disappointment of their hopes, founded on a vote of the House of Commons, That the slave-trade would, before this time, be abolished.

The removal of either of these two obstacles to the Company's views, it is hoped, would produce happy and extensive effects; but much more the removal of both.

While these great obstacles remain, the Directors can only endeavour to maintain a trade on a contracted scale, and subject to little risk; of which the profits therefore, cannot be expected to be very considerable. At the same time, they will continue to use the best means of promoting the internal prosperity of the Colony—by the maintenance of their schools; by the instructions of their clergyman; by the promotion of order, and the impartial administration of justice; by their liberal encouragement to cultivation in general, but especially to that of coffee, which promises, in a few years, to be productive of great advantages; and finally, by the measure they have lately adopted, to induce their European servants to become independent traders, or cultivators of the soil.

CIVILIZATION.

GOVERNMENT and Administration of Justice. Free Town and Granville Town, as observed in a former Report, are divided into tythings, or districts of ten families; and the heads of each, choose annually a tythingman; and
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and for each ten tythingmen, a hundredor. The persons so chosen, are sworn to assist in keeping the peace: The tythingmen act as constables, and the hundredors as head-constables. All regulations, adopted by the Governor and Council, are laid before the hundredors and tythingmen; and, on their acquiescence, are declared to have the force of law. Several servants of the Company act as justices; and a court of session is held every 3 months, at which, offences and suits for debts are tried by a jury, before two or more justices.

Two marshals are appointed, one for Granville Town, and the other for Free Town, who summon juries, execute warrants against offenders, and writs for debt, levy fines, and execute the sentences of the court; and they have a right to call any hundredor or tythingman, to assist them in their duty. The marshals have 20*l.* a year each. The jurors are paid 3*s.* a day, and each witness 1*s.* 6*d.* for his attendance, by the party losing the cause.

Laws respecting adultery and slander, and for fixing the price of bread and meat, have been enacted; but in general, the principles of the English law have been found sufficient; though the punishments, in criminal cases, have been less severe. They have consisted of corporal chastisement, fine, imprisonment, hard labour, and banishment. Buying or selling slaves, is considered as a crime, and is always punished, when proved.

At the Quarter Sessions, in April 1796, Joseph Tybee was convicted of being actively concerned in the insurrection in June 1794, and sentenced to be whipped and banished. The lashes were not given him; but, at his own request, reserved to be inflicted, in case of his return from banishment.—Timothy Withers, being proved guilty of interrupting and wounding the patrol, was sentenced to pay him 6*l.* damages, and to find security for his good behaviour for 12 months.—A boy was tried
for

for stealing a purse and some money, from Mr. Guest. He pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to be whipped.

At the Quarter Sessions, in Nov. 1796, the only material trial was that of a man found guilty of keeping a gaming house, whereby several families had been impoverished. Mr. Macaulay, after observing that, as this was the first offence of the kind which had occurred, and the prisoner might plead ignorance of its nature, remitted the punishment, which the law of England prescribed, except binding him in the penal sum of 10*l.* and two sureties in 5*l.* each, that he would not repeat the offence.—The same man, having been convicted of adultery, at the last session, his wife now applied for a divorce, which was granted.

In Sep. 1797, a native man, convicted of stealing two goats, and a few other things, was sentenced to be whipped, and kept to hard work for 12 months.

Of the general character of the Nova Scotian black settlers, and the principal causes which appear to have formed that character, the Directors gave a sketch in their Report of 1794, to which they beg leave to refer. In the sequel, they will give some account of the late conduct of those colonists.

The improvement of their children is too visible to admit of doubt; nor does it consist merely in reading and writing; for their understandings and memories are enlarged, their errors and bad habits corrected, and their tempers and manners much meliorated.

The young natives at school in the Colony, improve in so many important respects, as to justify the hope of their becoming the instruments of extensive benefit to Africa.

The manners and tempers of the neighbouring natives in general, are strikingly improved, and their views are enlarged.

enlarged. Indeed, something of this enlargement is visible, as far as the Company's influence extends, of which some instances will be given in the sequel.

A considerable external improvement has also taken place among the slave-traders. The Company's servants were once the objects of their derision. Now they treat them with great outward respect, shew a readiness to oblige them in any little request, and are much more decent in their dress and manners, when they go to Sierra Leone. They often even vie with each other, in shewing our gentlemen attention. Not one of them now defends the slave-trade. It is a bad trade, that all must allow; but people are not to starve. If we do not engage in it, others will. We could not collect our debts, if we gave it up, &c. Such are the apologies they make for it.

Thus have the Directors given a general sketch of the state of the Colony, with respect to Health, Trade, Cultivation and Civilization. They cannot better introduce what they have farther to state on the grand object, Civilization, than by laying before the Proprietors, an Abridgement of the beginning of Mr. Macaulay's journal, on his arrival in the Colony, after near a year's absence in this country. In this part of his journal, Mr. M. describes the state of the slave-trade in the Rio Pongas, whence the Proprietors will learn how powerfully it opposes the Company's plans of Civilization.

Saturday March 19th, 1796. The vessel which conveyed Mr. M. from England anchored abreast of Free Town, about 12 o'clock on the preceding night. Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, Mr. M. was soon surrounded by crowds of settlers who welcomed his return.

return. He was so happy as to find all his old friends in the Colony, without any exception, in good health.

Sunday March 20th. The seven new servants of the Company who went out with Mr. M. expressed their satisfaction at the general appearance of things in Free Town, which far exceeded any expectations he had taught them to form. This was particularly gratifying to him, at whose instance they had embarked.

The healthy looks of the Europeans, and the cheerfulness of the settlers, in whose faces plenty smiled, the numbers, decency and improvement of the children at school, and the great kindness of Mr. Dawes, the Governor, were very encouraging to them. In nothing but the church, which seemed less respectable than they expected, were their hopes disappointed. Their satisfaction strongly indicates the flourishing state of the Colony.

Mr. M. spoke to the leaders of the different meetings of the propriety of a general attendance at church, on the Rev. Mr. Clarke's first publick appearance. There was a very full audience. Mr. C. and the other strangers, were struck with the singularity of a black audience, lost in deep attention, and with the pleasing chorus which the children raised. The grown people seemed to regard him as a superior being; and the children gazed at him with open mouth, and scarcely turned their eyes from him, during a long sermon. Novelty, it is allowed, might contribute to these effects; but they seem to indicate, that good is likely to be done by Mr. C. On coming out of church, Mr. M. was surrounded by crowds, expressing their obligation to him, for bringing out such a chaplain.

March 21st. Provision was made for the accommodation of the new comers. Five of them were comfortably lodged, in a house built by a settler, which consists of two stories, and cost 150/.

March 23d. An examination of the schools took place. There was cause, on the whole, to be satisfied; though

though some regulations were plainly wanted. This task was assigned to Mr. Clarke.

March 27th. In the evening, the first Sunday-school was opened; and near 200 children attended, a great number; their attendance being quite voluntary. Mr. C. gave them a catechetical discourse. He told them stories of good and bad children, with such kindness and affection, as produced a great effect. They were so still during an hour and an half, that he talked with them, that scarce a whisper was to be heard. Several grown people were present, who, it is hoped, in time, may be brought to attend also; for what they are chiefly ignorant of, are those first principles of religion, in which it will be Mr. C's. object to instruct the children.

March 28th. A captain called here, who had seen our old friend Cuddy, in Gambia, and with him the two tradesmen he carried from Sierra Leone, whom he still employs in improving his place. He said Cuddy refused to trade in slaves, but that as an agent in the purchase of produce, he had entrusted considerable sums to him, and had found him uniformly faithful.

March 30th. As Mr. M. was anxious to visit the Rio Pongas while Mr. Dawes's presence in the Colony gave him an opportunity of leaving it, he embarked in the Ocean, which had been prepared to convey the missionaries, who, on account of the supposed approach of the French, declined to proceed to that river.

April 1st, 1796. Mr. M. ascertained the latitude of the entrance of the Rio Pongas, to be $10^{\circ}, 7'$, which is 19 miles North of the place given to it, in all the charts he had seen.

April 2d. At noon, they entered the river, and found a small vessel at anchor, in which were about 30 slaves, in chains, and perfectly naked. On hailing her, Mr. M. perceived the spokesman to be one of our settlers, of the more troublesome sort; though he did not at once recognize him. He asked, in an altered tone, if that was Mr. Macaulay?

Macaulay? Being answered in the affirmative, his confusion increased. By two o'clock, they reached the place of a native slave-trader, who, though one of the most respectable Mr. M. had seen, was in a check shirt and trowsers, without stockings or shoes. He was amidst a group of natives, in a house, which, though large, was far inferior in comfort, to the meanest hovel he had seen in England. In the surrounding area, were about 1000 Foulahs, who had come down to barter slaves for European goods, and who had erected a number of little sheds with boughs. In a retired corner, were about 20 or 30 slaves in chains, with their eyes fixed on the ground. The trader welcomed Mr. M. and his party with great kindness; for he had experienced many civilities at Sierra Leone before, and, understanding that they had eaten nothing all day, he gave orders for their entertainment. It was pleasing to observe the improvement produced, even in the habits of slave-traders, by the establishment of the Colony. This person, ashamed of the old dwelling in which he then was, and desirous of vying with the colonists, had employed some of their tradesmen, who were finishing a handsome framed house for him, quite in the Sierra Leone stile. His domestics, also partly settlers, had arranged the economy of his table, in a way before unknown among the Rio Ponga traders.

April 4th. Mungo Kerrepha, the Chief, on whose territory the Company's factory is placed, came to pay his respects; for he had heard, he said, that the Sierra Leone Mungo was come. He is a very old man, of a respectable appearance, but seems to have suffered much from drinking. His town was formerly on the bank of the river, opposite to the factory; but he now resides on the same side, on pretence of protecting the factory, but really to derive advantage from its vicinity. The new town consists of a dwelling-house with three apartments; a store, a house for strangers, one for grumettas, and a salt-house, all of mud, and thatched. Mr. M. thinks of erecting

ing there a handsome but small framed house, as a model to the neighbourhood.

Mr. M. and his party walked over to the king's town, which promises to be large, and to contain 150 or 200 houses. Most of the people were busy, the men in raising the walls of their houses or thatching them, and the women in flooring and plastering them with mud. This is exclusively their work, and nothing will induce a man to meddle with it. A few women were carding and spinning cotton; and a man was weaving cloth from the yarn.

April 5th. Our factor at Free Port told Mr. M. some facts, which he had himself witnessed.—Having lately been at the neighbouring factory, he heard a violent screaming, which he found to proceed from one of his own grumettas, who had rowed him down, and who was seized by some natives, who had tied his hands behind him, and were preparing to fasten him in a chain. Our factor, on asking the cause, was told that a woman, had accused him of a criminal intercourse with her. The woman was called, but denied having ever made any such charge. The man was of course acquitted. The natives now, with one voice, accused the woman of having 'two mouths.' She protested her innocence; but was immediately condemned to be sold.

During a visit which Dr. Afzelius, Dr. Winterbottom, and our factor, paid to this same slave-trader, a man was seen shouting and dancing like a maniac. He was a Foulah, who had been kidnapped and sold, and in a few days more, would have been consigned to the hold of a slave-ship. In this state, another Foulah, who had come down to trade, agreed to pay a slave for his redemption, and he was accordingly freed from his chain. It was the joy of deliverance which had produced those extravagancies.—A Foulah chief came down to the Kissing, a branch of the Rio Pongas, about 2 or 3 months ago, with his wife, and went to a factory kept by ———, to sell a slave or two. His barter, not having been so productive as he expected

expected, he made up the deficiency by selling his wife. The moment the poor woman knew her fate, she went mad. Being conveyed to a Liverpool slave-ship, at the river's mouth, her distraction increased, and the captain put a gag in her mouth. In struggling she broke some of her teeth. He returned her as unsaleable, and it is not known what became of her afterwards.

After rowing about 9 miles farther up, the party got to Bashia, formerly occupied by the noted Ormond. Observing some people, they crossed over to them. The party consisted of a dozen Foulahs, with 3 slaves, viz. 2 women, about 35 years of age, and a boy about 15. Their eyes were much swollen with weeping. From this place, they walked about a mile to the factory of a trader, two of whose children are now at school at Free Town; and who welcomed them kindly.—They then walked to a factory about half a mile higher. Mr. M. says he had seen many slave-traders, whose appearance and manners were extremely disgusting; but none sunk quite so low as this man, who was so debilitated, and even deformed, by drinking, as scarcely to be able to stand, and his feet were eaten away with ulcers. His dress, a tattered shirt and trowsers, without shoes or stockings, was so dirty, that their colour was not distinguishable.—They proceeded to a native town about ten miles higher up, the chief of which, Fantimane, had offered our factor an asylum, in case the machinations of the slave-traders should prevail against him. This offer arose from his approbation of the Company's views, which he had heard indistinctly reported. He is about 35 years of age, of a prepossessing appearance, and good humoured; but unusually diffident. They conversed with him on trade, cultivation, &c. and he was so pleased, that he said he would go with Mr. M. to Sierra Leone, to see whether all he had heard was true or not.

April 6th. Our travellers went down the river with the tide, and about noon, reached the before-mentioned slave-factory,

factory, formerly belonging to Ormond. The proprietor, a native slave-trader, was extremely frank and ingenuous. And by the way, the Company's servants have had cause, almost universally, to prefer native slave-traders to European. It may be added, that the natives uniformly befriend the Company's servants; and in some cases, where there is a direct opposition of interests. It was this trader who gave to our agent the first intimation of the design formed against him, by the slave-traders around. He shewed Mr. M. the letter of invitation, sent him to join the combination. This was so generous, that, slave-trader as he is, Mr. M. says, he could not help respecting him. Mr. M. enlarged on the iniquity of the slave-trade. He said he knew it well, and was unhappy in it; but what could he do? He and his family were not to starve. Mr. M. suggested many expedients, and urged the probability of an abolition. He spake seriously of preparing against that event, and Mr. M. promised him coffee and cotton seeds.

As they were conversing, a lad about 19 years of age passed the door. 'There,' said he, 'is a lad who was sold to me, by a neighbouring headman, for witchcraft, for which his great grandmother had drunk red water and died, 30 years before he was born. He was put on board a slave-ship; but, at the instance of your agent, I redeemed him.'

April 7th. The party went, by invitation, to the place of the other native slave-trader. He had now removed into his new framed house, and had every thing very neat. He is a man of mild manners, when not intoxicated. He had been careful to remove every thing offensive; but without success; for, near the place, was an old Foulah leaning on his staff, whose beard was white with age, and who was overwhelmed with grief. He had come hither in search of his son, who, about 2 months before, had been kidnapped and carried to the coast. The father, hoping to be in time to redeem him, before he was shipped off, had visited all the factories in the Rio Nunez,
and

and Kissing, and was now come to enquire in the Rio Pongas. The trader told him to view the slave-yard, and that if he found his son there, he should have him without a ransom. The poor man returned from the slave-yard, still more disconsolate, not having discovered his son. Mr. M. recollecting a boy he had seen at the other slave factor's, advised him to go there, and promised, if he proved to be his son, to pay for his redemption. The old man, fixing his eyes upon Mr. M. asked if he really spoke truth. He now enquired eagerly for the boy's size and age; and Mr. M.'s account seemed to answer so exactly, that the old man was giving himself up to joy. He recollected, however, that he had not enquired respecting his colour. Mr. M. told him the boy was black. He could now scarce articulate, 'Alas! my boy was yellow,' and his countenance immediately expressed the deepest dejection. Mr. M. turned involuntarily round to the slave-factor, and looked him full in the face. He seemed affected; for, though a slave-trader, yet as a father, he must have had a father's feelings. Mr. M. now pressed him hard on the iniquity of the slave-trade. A beautiful girl of his own, was in his arms, and aided the arguments. He began to execrate the trade, and Mr. M. made no doubt but that, for the moment, he was sincere.

April 8th. Our travellers went up the river to the factory of another slave-trader. He and his associates did not deny their machinations against the Company's factory. In a letter, he thus palliates his conduct, 'You were informed we conspired against you; I acknowledge we endeavoured to turn the Sierra Leone factory out of the river. It is no more than reasonable to suppose, that as your concern is so much against the interest of traders in general, in this country, that the traders should be against them—I should be happy to serve you, but must confess I do not like your Proprietors.'

April 10th. A white slave-trader, who had formerly lived with the noted Ormond, called at Free Port. He
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acknowledged that he had heard shocking things of Ormond. The worst thing he had ever *seen* him do, was tying an unsaleable slave to a swivel, and sinking him in the river. 'As for myself,' said he, 'I thank God I have nothing to reproach myself with. I pay my debts, and no man can say that I have ever injured him.' Mr. M. unwilling to concede so much, strongly represented his daily injuries to the poor Africans. 'Sir,' said he, 'would you have me starve? I do no more than others. God does not wish me to starve, and prayers will not fill my belly: if I minded those sort of things, when I should be making trade, poverty would soon overtake me.'

After family-worship, he made Mr. M. a low bow, 'Sir, I humbly thank you; you have brought back to my mind, times when I knew better. Sir, it is 8 years since I heard a prayer.' He said he had been religiously educated at Christ's Church Hospital, firmly believed the Bible, and sincerely wished to do what was right. 'Give one proof,' said Mr. M. 'of your sincerity, abandon the slave-trade.' He said he should be glad to do it, but scarcely knew how to extricate himself, and wished Mr. M. would pass a day at his place, and talk over the subject. Mr. M. adds, that he has often seen such convictions fastened on the minds of slave-traders; but that he seldom expects them to last.

A Mr. Sewell should perhaps be excepted, who died in the Rio Pongas, a few months before our factory was established there, and of whom Mr. M. had the following account, on the spot, partly from the slave-traders, and partly from his own posthumous papers. Though respectably descended and educated, some unlucky circumstances had thrown him into the slave-trade, which he carried on some years. But being at length deeply struck with its enormity, he resolved to abandon it, and the place where he carried it on. He removed to Fantimancee's, where he continued, for about two years (that is, till he died) to trade for produce only. There he left behind him many traces

of his having been a man of reading and ingenuity; and in the same solitude, he appears to have thought much on religion. In the delirium of a fever, he committed some things to paper so absurd that, had they been written in health, Mr. M. says, he should have joined the neighbouring slave-traders, in regarding him as mad. But there immediately follow, in his common-place-book, two hymns, the sentiments of which are good, though the poetry be faulty, and a neat summary of what he took to be the doctrines of Christianity. For he had no Bible, or other religious book; and was unable to procure any from the neighbouring slave factors. His sending to them, on such an errand, was doubtless one of their reasons for thinking him mad. 'Mad!' said they, why he was as mad as a March hare. He took it into his head that it was not right to buy slaves; though he himself had dealt in them, and should have known better. What could be a greater sign of madness? Besides, he used to sing hymns to himself, and was always praying.' As a farther proof, they referred to the extravagant things he had written in his delirium, which, however, does not appear to have returned; for he died at Fantimancee's, of some consumptive disorder, after lingering for several months.

April 11th. Mr. M. intending to leave the Rio Pongas, sent for the king, and proposed fixing a school in his town. He asked who was to do the work, if every body went to school. Mr. M. told him, he only wished the attendance of the children. He then said, he could not afford to pay a man any thing; but if Mr. M. would pay him, he should be glad to have him, and the children should be made to attend.

The foregoing extracts from Mr. Macaulay's journal, being so closely connected in point of time and place, it seemed best to insert them in the order of their dates. To those of them which exemplify the state of the slave-trade in

in the Rio Pongas; the Directors will here add a few later instances; which occurred at *Sierra Leone itself*, from whence all the Company's efforts have not yet been able to expel that insidious enemy.

Capt. ———, in an American ship, anchored very near the Company's wharf. He had the audacity to buy four slaves, while in this position. Being informed of this, Mr. Macaulay instituted an enquiry. When ——— understood this to be the errand of those whom Mr. M. sent, he was much frightened, and evaded their questions. At last he was forced to produce the 4 slaves, who were instantly known to be Sierra Leone people. Their examination was taken down and brought ashore, and Mr. M. sent to King Jammy's to know the truth of the facts, which were confirmed, as follow.

One of them, Tom Law, a man about 30 years of age, had been unjustly taken at first in the Sherbro'. He suddenly disappeared, and was thought dead; but had been secreted; till this opportunity of selling him occurred.

Another was Kai, about 14 years of age, daughter of Pa Nema, who lives in Jammy's town. She had gone to stay at Signior Domingo's, with one of his wives, suspecting no bad design in the Signior. But the old man could not resist the temptation of a slave-ship so near him, and sold her for a cask of rum.

The third was Maria, a girl about 12 years of age, who had formerly been at school in the Colony. When Pa Bunkie, her father, died, her mother was tried for witchcraft, and killed by the red water. The head man of the town came to beg Mr. M. that the girl might attend the cry, made for her parents. He opposed it, fearing they meant to sell her; but the girl was so anxious to go, and the chief made such solemn promises of not selling her, that Mr. M. gave leave. But she never came back; for the chief wanting a cask of rum, the orphan girl was pitched on, as the commodity to be bartered.

The fourth was Runya, a girl about seven years of age.

age. She had been sold for a cask of rum, by Pa Will, under whose care she had been left, by a Mandingo, her father, while he went about selling *Gris-Gris*. On his return, Pa Will probably will tell him she is dead.

Captain ——— let them come on shore, only requesting a receipt, and that he might dictate it, which he did thus, "I acknowledge to have received from, &c. for whom I promise to account, whenever they may be demanded by their proper owners."

The poor captives being liberated, leaped into the boat with very great alacrity; still however, terrified that it might not yet be a real deliverance. When brought to Mr. M's house, they were much agitated; but, on recognizing him, they seemed to lose their fears. Mr. M. asked if they had any wish to return to the vessel. They all replied with horror, NO; adding, that they would stay in the Colony, and never should leave it. Mary Perth, the Nova Scotian, who has the care of the native children, was directed to clothe the girls, who were stark naked; and Maria was overjoyed at seeing her old mother, as she called Mrs. Perth.

The next day Kai's father came to see her, and the meeting was truly affecting. He clasped her in his arms, and wept over her, without uttering a word, and the girl was also much moved. There also came to Mary Perth's, a native young woman, who in Maria's better days, had waited upon her. Knowing Maria had been sold, she lost all hope of again seeing her. When their eyes first met, the young woman was struck motionless; but, when assured it was Maria, her joy was extravagant; she laughed, and cried, and danced, and pressed the girl to her bosom by turns. Shame on those who would strip these poor people of the feelings of humanity, and the claims of brotherhood!

These incidents strongly mark the nature of the trade. No crime alledged, no plea of being born in slavery, no previous enmity, no debt existed, in any of the cases.

cafes. But how is it possible to reason calmly on such enormities?

A man came to Mr. M. early one morning, for protection, who said he had escaped the preceding night, from the chain at Signior Domingo's. Mr. M. knew him to be the same who, 3 years ago, as related in a former printed Report, had run to the Colony, on the same errand. The Signior had by some means got him once more into his power, and would, no doubt, have fold him, if he had not escaped.

A family of natives had taken refuge in the Colony; Pa Wamba, their chief, having brought a palaver against them, but failed in proving any right to them. The chief, exasperated by their escape, sent 20 armed natives, who broke into the house in Granville Town, where this poor family lay, and carried them off, about four in the morning. The alarm being given, the people of Free Town, went armed in pursuit of the assailants. The pursuers overtook them dragging the mother along the ground. The natives snapped their guns, but the priming being wet, they did not go off. The colonists then disarmed them, took 3 of them prisoners, and rescued the old woman and one of her sons; but the other was beyond their reach. The prisoners were secured, at Free Town. They all seemed much ashamed, for they were well known, having lived in the neighbourhood several years; but they pleaded the command of their chief. Many natives crowding about the town towards evening, Mr. M. strengthened the watch, and forbade any natives to appear in the streets after eight. He also directed a gun to be fired at 4 in the morning, the usual hour of a native attack.—A palaver on this subject afterwards took place. Mr. M. demanded of the chief 100 dollars for the breach of the peace; but consented at last, to remit a third of the fine. The chiefs who had met promised to see it punctually paid, and thanked Mr. M. for his conduct.

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The two following accounts apply to parts of the coast, at some distance from Sierra Leone.

The noted Beau Walker, an English slave-trader, having arrived at Cape Mount lately, in an American brig, was exercising his usual barbarities, on his officers and crew, when they were provoked to conspire against him. As he lay on a hen-coop, a seaman struck him on the breast, with a handspike; but the blow being ill-directed, Walker sprang up, and would soon have dispatched the mutineer, had not a boy at the helm, pulling out a pistol, shot him dead.—Many a poor seaman has this man murdered. Mr. Smart, a native chief of Rokelle, told Mr. M. that he once went a little way in a boat with him. A white boy, who was rowing, happening to displease Walker, he knocked him over into the water. The cockswain put up the helm, that he might pick him up; but Walker had almost knocked him over likewise, and made him proceed as if nothing had happened. The boy was thus left to perish. Mr. Richards also assured Mr. M. that this fact was literally true, and that Walker perpetrated it 6 or 7 years ago.

Mr. M. has conversed with a man of intelligence, who is intimately acquainted with the *Foris*,* and who, he is convinced, in place of exaggerating, rather glossed over many things, out of tenderness to himself. Mr. M. learned from him, 1st. that *panyaring* is universal on the Gold Coast. The mode practised by ships is this: the captain sends on shore to say, that he wants quantities of corn or yams; on which a number of canoes go off with these articles. The captain confines the people on board, and then publishes, that he has panyared such and such men, and will allow so many days for their redemption. 2dly. At the forts, another mode is practised. They give, perhaps, a liberal loan to a chief, if dilated

* Viz. the forts on the Gold Coast of Africa, to support which about £13,000 is annually voted by Parliament; and which are under the superintendance of the African Company.

tory in payment, they get him, if possible, into their power, and then obtain his permission for *catching* so many of his people. This is reckoned the safest and most honourable mode of panyaring. 3dly. He said that the governors of the forts are the *dernier ressort* in all cases; and that they do not decide according to the principles of the English law, but according to the Country law. He added, that when the natives make predatory attacks, they repair with their prisoners to the neighbouring fort, where they are received and put in ward, without any enquiry. He described the situation of the inhabitants as truly deplorable, and chiefly through the machinations practised at the forts.

The foregoing are a few instances of some of the modes of carrying on the slave-trade. Of their extreme frequency, and the *continual interruption* which they give to the Company's plans of civilization, some idea may be formed, from what passed in a conversation between Mr. M. and a Mahometan slave-trader, who tried to defend it. —Mr. M. having mentioned some recent enormities, which he himself had collected, or witnessed, in the Rio Pongas, the Mahometan exclaimed—'Is that any thing? No, that's nothing, Mr. Macaulay. Country people see that every day. And suppose you live in slave place, all same me, that bad thing you been see Rio Pongas, you must see him every day.' Of Ormond, however, he said, 'That man bad more than all man. He do too much bad. He must burn this time;' meaning he must be in hell.

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THE Directors will next lay before the General Court, some instances of the great influence, which the Company's servants, by attending to the instructions sent from hence, as well as by their own prudence, justice and firmness, have acquired over the natives, and are evidently employing in the most salutary manner. The same instances will, in some degree, enable the Proprietors to judge, how far they may entertain the pleasing hope, that the difficulties which unhappily retard the progress of civilization in Africa, will be ultimately surmounted.

Three or four years ago, Mr. Macaulay observes, that the meanest of the natives scrupled not to behave rudely and insolently to the Company's servants. But now, even the chiefs have tacitly relinquished their claims of superiority, once so pertinaciously maintained, and seem to feel as favours, the most trifling civilities. Several causes, in addition to superior power, have contributed to this; and none more, than their finding the Company's servants always ready to vindicate their cause, when defrauded or violently assaulted by the settlers, of both which these last have sometimes been guilty. These favourable sentiments enable the Company's servants openly to wage war with their practices of drinking and dancing at their cries, trial by red water, &c. and especially with their traffic in slaves. For this they still have a secret hankering, and often trepan their friendless town's people, when a slave-ship is conveniently situated in their neighbourhood.

Differences between headmen and their people are commonly referred to some chief; but, in most cases, the weaker party suffers, from the administration of justice by the watery and fiery ordeals. Appeals to chiefs being so common, Mr. M. now often appears as the umpire, and boldly pleads for the friendless slave. The following is a case of this nature.

22

A native

A native having taken refuge in Free Town, his owner, Jammy Queen, of White Man's Bay, went to Mr. M. to claim him. The deserter also presented himself. He was a man about 40 years of age, tall and erect. A restless eye, and a dagger which he grasped with desperate firmness, were pretty significant of his feelings. He placed himself on the opposite side of Mr. M. from his master, and began his tale. 'I was a headman in my own country, about two days journey from Rokelle, to which I frequently came trading. In my way home, I was seized, robbed, and sold. I passed through several hands, at last into Jammy Queen's, by whom I was well used, and I worked for him as a blacksmith. But Jammy Queen is not his own master. His wives can make him do what they please. They took a dislike to me, and resolved to have me sold to a slave-ship. This they can do at any time, by accusing me of an improper connection. Being resolved to escape, I ran away without my clothes, taking nothing with me but this dagger; and now I chuse to stay where I am. If I am forced back, I have still a weapon left to cut my throat.' Jammy Queen denied any intention to sell him; for that he valued him for his ingenuity. The man repeated, that he did not mean to call Jammy Queen a bad man; but insisted that he was not able to rescue him from a woman's palaver. Mr. M. endeavoured to get Jammy Queen to receive a price for his redemption, but in vain. He repeated his promise not to sell him; but the man made light of it; 'For,' said he, 'I may be presently in the West Indies, for all your promises; as there will be no body to tell Mr. Macaulay.' He then added, resolutely, that he would not go alive out of Free Town; that he would work for Mr. M. day and night, but that thence he would not move.

The next day, while the deserter was sitting in a pensive mood, a native entered Mr. M's. house, who had just landed at the wharf, with a canoe-load of camwood.

Their

Their eyes were immediately rivetted on each other. They clasped one another in their arms:—They were brothers! Their surprise and joy were extreme. After these moving congratulations, the deserter sprang up, and began to move towards the water. Mr. M. sent for them both, and asked, whether they intended to leave him involved with his neighbours, on their account? They seemed abashed at their precipitancy. Mr. M. then proposed that the deserter should continue with him, till his brother should return from Rokelle, with a certain headman, known to Jammy Queen, who should adjust the conditions of the deserter's redemption. This was acceded to.

In a few days, the canoe returned, with the brother of the deserter, and the headman. The matter was soon settled; Jammy Queen agreeing to give up his slave, and the headman to pay the price of his redemption. When about to depart, the redeemed captive and his friends took leave of Mr. M. with many expressions of thankfulness.

Pa Dembo was one day brought to Mr. Macaulay, as a prisoner, and with him a settler, through whose arm he had run a knife. Pa Dembo was so much intoxicated, that it was impossible then to settle the dispute. Mr. M. therefore delivered him over to two people of his own town, appointing a day for hearing the cause. The settlers behaved much more moderately, on this occasion, than could have been expected. On the day of the trial, Mr. M. explained to the headmen, Pa Dembo's offence, with all its aggravations, particularly that, though a headman, Pa Dembo had 'lost his head' by drink, and thus become 'a boy.' The offender was much ashamed, and humbly acknowledged his fault. 'My father,' said he to Mr. M. 'I got nothing to say. You talk true. I got nothing to say. I do bad. I shame too much. I live in your hand. No more [only] I beg you remember what good I do you before,' alluding to his conduct while the

the French had possession of the colony. Mr. M. after giving him to understand, that it was in consideration of his friendly behaviour at that crisis, that he dealt so tenderly with him, made him pay 15 dollars to the man he had wounded. To this Pa Dembo gladly agreed, thinking he had got well off. But Mr. M. added, that whereas he had hitherto regarded Pa Dembo as a gentleman and his friend, he should look upon him only as 'a boy,' in future, till convinced, by his sobriety and regularity, that he really regretted his fault, and was worthy of being restored to favour. Pa Dembo felt this speech exceedingly, but could only say, 'You right. You got reason, my father.'

Mr. M. embraced this publick opportunity of mentioning Pa Dembo's irregular interference with the settlers, in cultivating the Western allotments, when legal redress was open to him; for, alledging that they had passed the boundary, he had threatened them with violence. Mr. M. having set the evil consequences of such conduct in a strong point of view, Pa Dembo promised to make a regular complaint of whatever he conceived to be a trespass, in order that it might be regularly and amiably adjusted.

About the same time, one of the settler's trading boats was stopped by the natives, at a town below the Cape, on pretence of a debt due from a settler (not the boat-owner), to two boys belonging to their town. On hearing it, Mr. M. sent a message to the headman, reproving him sharply for allowing this irregularity, when legal redress might have been had, and desiring him to liberate the boat, without delay; which was done. In a few days, the natives came along with their chief, to prefer their complaint respecting the debt, for which they had seized the boat. Mr. M. after hearing their proofs and explanations, for about two hours, fixed the debt at about a fourth of what they had claimed, which their chief

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seeing to be just, it was accepted, and immediately paid them. A charge was then brought against them for having illegally detained a settler's boat, contrary to the stipulations made with all the neighbours respecting disputes, viz. That violent modes of redress were not, in any case, to be adopted, while others could be had. They acknowledged they had done wrong, and begged forgiveness, which was granted.

The following more important affair had a similar termination.—The new king of Sierra Leone sent to tell Mr. M. that he used him very ill, in never sending him presents; that he had heard very bad things of him also; such as, 1st, His sending for soldiers to drive all the people out of the country. 2dly, His intending to call all the headmen to his house, in order to blow them up with gunpowder. 3dly, His having begun to open land in the mountains that did not belong to him. 4thly, That the Company had sent out clothes for him, and the other chiefs, which Mr. M. had sent to the Gold Coast. 5thly, That Mr. M. had given the people of the country a bad name in England. 6thly, That he never made feasts for the headmen in the country, and played with them, as he ought to do. 'Tell Macaulay,' said he, 'to pay to king Tom 600 bars, for all the bad he has done, and that he must pay the same every year. The mountains were not in our bargain before: he must pay for them too.' In short, he run up a charge of 1000 bars, and added, 'Tell Macaulay to take care of my devil; tell him to do me good, or my devil must do him bad.'

Signior Domingo assured Mr. M. that these idle reports all came from Pirate's Bay, and were the joint production of the slave-traders there, and of the settlers who had deserted the Colony, and gone to that quarter.

King Tom, Signior Domingo, and several other headmen, coming to talk the palaver, a written paper, containing the accusations against Mr. M. was put into his hands

hands, and the settlers at Pirate's Bay given as the authors. They were sent for, but refused to come. But the natives were soon convinced of the absurdity of the allegations; and, finding they were not likely to be of use in extorting money, began to ridicule, what a little before they had advanced with much seeming earnestness.

The king, however, made large demands for the country, and dwelt much on our encroachments in the mountains. But having clearly proved, that we had not encroached, and having exposed the dishonesty of the present procedure, Mr. M. told him explicitly, that he should not relinquish an inch of the land, which the Company had fairly and openly purchased of those who had a right to sell it; that he was resolved to pay no more than what had already been agreed on; and that, if they continued the molestation they had often given, he should even withdraw that acknowledgment, which had been expressly given, in consideration of the king's acting fairly towards the Company. The king, in great wrath, broke off the palaver; but in an hour or two, he was glad to renew it, and to agree that things should remain on the old footing. An agreement was accordingly drawn up, to which the names of all present were put, stipulating, that the king should receive 100 dollars in consideration of his trouble, he expressly relinquishing every other claim. The boundaries were also fixed, and a copy of the agreement inserted in the minutes of Council.

Young Mr. Domingo, who had been educated in England by the Company, having been taken ill, Mr. M. went to see him, and found him apparently in the agonies of death. He said, he knew he was dying. He no sooner saw Mr. M. than he cried out, 'I want much to see you, before I die: I have something to say to you.' On Mr. M. enquiring what it was, he said, 'Go and preach to my countrymen of Jesus Christ: you know they are very bad. This is what I have to ask of you.

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I am going to die.' The surgeon gave Mr. M. some faint hopes. He was in a very painful state of suspense, not only on the young man's account, but because the death of the only two Africans, who had been educated in England, under the patronage of the Company, might have had a very unfriendly bearing on the Company's plans of civilization.

Next morning, Domingo's father arrived, with near 20 people. He told Mr. M. he had come to carry his son home, where a country doctor would make some medicine for him. Mr. M. remonstrated on the risk of removing him. The father answered, that he had been 'making country-fashion' (consulting *Gris-Gris*)* and had discovered that, if his son were to remain where he was, he must die. Mr. M. consented; knowing well, that, had the opposition come from him, he should very probably be adjudged guilty of his death. He accompanied the Signior to his son's apartment, whom he roused without ceremony, saying, 'Come, Anthony, let us go.' Anthony stared at him, and asked where? 'To my place,' answered the father, 'I want to make some medicine for you, to cure you.' The young man turned about; as if to compose himself to sleep, and made no reply, but by shaking his head. 'What, you say you won't go?' 'No, I can't go.' This answer enraged the Signior very much. At last he agreed not to insist on his son's removal; but to cause the country doctor to pay him a visit. The doctor came, and having examined his patient, prepared an infusion of some vegetable substances,

* *Gressh*, or *Gressh*, signifies, in the Hebrew and Arabick tongues, to drive away or expel; and, from a repetition of the word, by way of emphasis, is formed the African *Gris-Gris*, consisting of scorified leathers, cloth, &c. used by the superstitious natives, to drive away evil spirits, as Holy Water (viz. salt and water mixed) is used by the Romish church. Sometimes short sentences from the *Koran*, written on bits of parchment, and neatly inclosed in small leather cases, are used for *Gris-Gris*, and carried about for sale.

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when Mr. Domingo told him, that he would not submit to his prescriptions. The Signior's rage now knew no bounds. His teeth chattered, while he exclaimed, 'What, you won't go with me! You won't take my medicines! You won't make the doctor do nothing for you! I got nothing more to do with you. If you die, I don't care. You are not my son any more. You have got another religion than mine, I believe. I'll never look upon you more.' So saying, he went straight home, in such a rage, that he forbade his people from inquiring about his son, or even naming him, because 'Anthony, he saw, did not love him as his other children did.' The Signior, in about a week, came to Mr. M. on business, when it only cost him a few words to bring about a reconciliation; though he was chagrined, that the credit of his *Gris-Gris* was not saved in some way. His son got well in a few days.

A strong desire of improvement manifests itself, wherever the influence of the Company is felt, and their real character and designs are rightly understood. Of this an instance may be given in two young natives of property from Rokelle, brothers, of the English name of Austin. A desire to see the wonders of which they had heard, and to become acquainted with the Company's servants, brought them to Sierra Leone. They had been striving hard at home, to learn to read English, from a drunken English sailor, whom they support in their town, for that purpose; but of whose unfitness they made sad complaints. They were much gratified and surprized by many things they saw; but particularly by the printing press, which Mr. Macaulay showed them at work.

Fantimance, a chief who came with Mr. M. from the Rio Pongas, staid some time in Free Town. He had entirely given up the slave-trade, from a feeling of its inhumanity. After viewing the Colony, and the com-
forts

forts of the settlers, which generally exceed those enjoyed by any neighbouring king, he said, he saw new reasons against the slave-trade. Mr. M. gave him coffee-seed, which he said he would plant carefully. He promised to contradict the false rumours of the slave-traders, respecting the Colony, which he can now do from personal knowledge. To prove his sincerity, he left his son, a boy about 8 years of age, under Mr. M's care.

A native chief has also visited Free Town, who is an eminent trader in the Rio Nunez. His name is Pa John Pierce. He has attached himself much to the Company's servants, given them always a decided preference in trade, and stood up as the protector of such of them as have visited the Rio Nunez. He is a man of the first weight, and it is entirely owing to him, that the Europeans maintain their footing there. He buys more ivory than any trader in the river, and his trade increases. Having never been at Sierra Leone before, he had much to wonder at. The slave-traders opposed his coming down; but he was resolute. He said, they had taken much pains to set him against the Colony. But his general reply was, 'You are bad men; you cheat me in trade; you are making palavers every day; and yet, for the sake of my name, and that people should not say I hurt white man in my country, I take care of you, and keep people from troubling you. The Sierra Leone people, are good people; they have never cheated me; they have never made one palaver in the river, and yet you want me to hurt them. So I must keep on doing you good, who have always done me bad; and, to please you, must do Sierra Leone people bad, who have always done me good. What fashion that? That your country fashion? No, I can't do that.' He is about 40 years of age, a grave, sober man, and speaks pretty good English; but with a curious mixture of oaths. It is plain indeed he does not consider them as oaths, but as necessary expletives, having always heard them so used by those from
whom
p 2

whom he learned our tongue. He was much pleased with the houses, having never seen any before but of mud. 'Them saucy fellows, in our rivers,' said he, 'will hardly let a black man come into their mud houses. What would they do, if they had such houses as them?' Being in want of a boat, Mr. M. agreed to sell him one, and told him that a carpenter should point out its faults, and value it. This appeared to Pa John quite a novel procedure, and it served him to open his views, as to the practices of the slave-dealers. The matter was soon settled, and he took the boat at the price which Mr. Bracey, our ship-builder, fixed on it.

Mr. M's. great business, however, was to detach him from the slave-trade. A direct proposition was not likely to be successful; but he had himself paved the way for a more indirect proposal, by earnestly requesting that he might be allowed, at his own expence, to build a salt-house for the Company at his place.—See p. 7 above.

Pa John was much pleased with the Sunday-school. He has himself only one son, a boy about two years of age, whom he means to send to Free Town, in a year or two.

ON the late conduct of the Nova Scotian blacks, who form the great body of the colonists, the Directors are sorry to observe, that they have little that is agreeable, to communicate to the General Court. They appear indeed to be less fickle than formerly, and more industrious; but, in other respects, they are not so much improved as could be wished. In particular, their unreasonable opposition to the moderate, not to say trifling, quit-rents, required for the lands they hold of the Company, is still very great, and is not always confined within the bounds of decency and good order.

In August, 1797, Mr. M. received a letter from the hundredors

hundredors and tythingmen, expressing plainly their determination not to pay quit-rents. He resolved on calling a meeting of the whole body, and explaining his views of it, which, he conceived, would prevent any farther misunderstanding.

On the day before the meeting, the people flocked to town. Meetings were holding in every street; every countenance bore the marks of anxiety; and there reigned an universal stillness. These meetings were caused by some of the hundredors and tythingmen, who laboured to dissuade the people from attending the meeting Mr. M. had called; or to persuade them, if they did attend, to be guided wholly by the hundredors and tythingmen.

At the meeting, were about 150 people; to whom Mr. M. read an address on the subject. When he had finished it, he told them it should be printed, and that any who had doubts, might have it read to them again. On this he came away. The meeting was dissolved rather tumultuously. Mr. Cooper, however, a black person in the Company's service, and a few more, went among the colonists, explaining to them wherein Mr. M's meaning was misrepresented, and giving them right views of the subject. With a few exceptions, all who had been present, expressed themselves completely satisfied.

The next day Mr. M. sent for one of the hundredors, to confer with him privately. He found it easy to refute all his objections, and to procure his unqualified assent to all his propositions; but no dependence was to be placed on his fairly representing Mr. M's. sentiments. This is a great disadvantage. In private conferences, their own credit prevents their dissenting from what is reasonable, or maintaining what is absurd; as nothing occurs to excite those bad passions, which public discussions are apt to call forth. But to the settlers, they say what best suits their own interest and ambition. The Company's servants can never recognize their own words or sentiments, after passing through two or three mouths.

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For a short time after Mr. M's. conference with the hundredors, they, as well as the tythingmen, professed great moderation. They afterwards, however, erected a kind of court in the country (they could not have done it in town) to which they cited three well-affected settlers, by way of experiment. Having appeared, they were asked for their grants. A grant being produced, some one of the court, after looking on it, cried out in a tone of affected consternation, 'Do you see how those poor people have sold themselves to be slaves? How could you take such a paper as this? It makes you a slave. You must give it back.' This he positively refused to do; on which he was told, that he should have a day or two to think of it; and, if he had no wish to have his house and farm destroyed, he would comply. *They could not answer for what a mob might do.* The poor man came to Mr. M. and told his tale. Another soon followed, who had been threatened with whipping; but the third set them at defiance. Mr. M. told the parties complaining, to make themselves easy, and that if violence was offered, he would protect them, and also cause them to be amply indemnified. He would have apprehended this court without delay, had they committed any overt act. A private signal for repairing to Thornton Hill, was made known to the Europeans, and 50 settlers; a force more than sufficient to repel any rash attempt of the disaffected. It was for such occasions, that it was judged absolutely necessary to have some spare room in the Government-house, and a strong fence round it.

Considering it better to prevent violence than to punish it, the Government publicly notified their having heard rumours of intended violence, and their determination to punish, with the utmost rigour, those who might unhappily perpetrate it. This produced the desired effect. Loyalty prevailed; violence was disavowed by all; the new court was discontinued; and the threats were pretended to have been sportive. As the mischief was prevented

prevented, the Government did not enter farther on a business, which might not have admitted of legal proofs, adequate to conviction. The subtrefuges might have been expected to result from abortive plans.

It is singular, Mr. M. observes, that he never conversed in private with one settler, and he appears to have conversed with most of them, who did not, after a few explanations, assent fully to the justice and reasonableness of all the conditions of the grants, and express a willingness to accede to them.

Mr. M. prudently availed himself of the calm which followed the defeat of the plans of the more violent, for getting the militia out to exercise the great guns, to prepare against the French, should they come in the way.

Those Nova Scotians, who bear some sort of religious character, may be divided into four classes—the Baptists, under David George; the Methodists, under Cato Perkins; those under Mr. Garvin; and those under Moses Wilkinson. The whole, male and female, are about 400, nearly half of whom belong to this last society, who had withdrawn from church entirely, and their attendance would have exposed them to excommunication. As it was important to remove this obstacle to their improvement, The Rev. Mr. Clarke obtained leave to preach among them. He first called on Moses Wilkinson, who gave a long account of a revival of religion, which he said had taken place, the last autumn, when it was usual for numbers of his hearers, especially children, to be struck down by the power of his preaching, and to roar out in agony. Mr. C. asked what were the effects, and whether they had been lasting. He said, that his people had all returned to the ways of the world, and that few traces of 'the work' were left. The extravagancies of this period were very great. Children of 7 and 8 years, were the chief actors; and among them, visions and revelations daily occurred. But they have since ceased. The object of our clergyman was to have the

the prohibition taken off, respecting their attendance at church; and Moses said, that after consulting his people, he would give him an answer. It is deplorable to hear the noise made by many of these poor people, about religion; and, at the same time, their gross ignorance of it; and the little influence it has on their lives. In order to attend meetings, where loud tones and impassioned gestures give a momentary impulse, which is considered as a ground of comfort, family worship, and the instruction of their children, are sadly neglected; and thus a title to the promised blessings of religion is arrogated, without the performance of one Christian duty, or the subjugation of one unchristian temper.

After this account, in addition to others which have been given in former Reports, the Proprietors will not be surprized at any absurdity, into which those mistaken colonists might fall. In the last year (1797), some weak suspicions particularly prevailed at the time of the elections, which occasioned the choice of a *Body of hundredors and tythingmen, not one of whom could write or read distinctly*. Alterations, therefore, which appeared to the Governor and Council, likely to benefit the colonists, were not proposed last year.*

Having noticed these untoward appearances, which,

* The last dispatches, before referred to, bring accounts of a better election for 1798. On the election of tythingmen (Dec. 20th, 1797), two delegates from the hundredors and tythingmen, represented to Mr. Macaulay, that they would not chuse according to the writs issued, and objected to any white man voting. The election nevertheless terminated favourably. On Jan. 17th, 1798, the day before the election of the hundredors, the old hundredors excited some ferment in the town, by stirring up the settlers not to allow of any fresh election, till their imaginary grievances were redressed. But they did not succeed; for the next day, the new hundredors were elected, and the Directors have the satisfaction to add, that a majority of them are well-disposed men.

however,

however, are to be understood with many laudable exceptions. The Directors feel much pleasure in giving publicity to any circumstance which redounds to the credit of the Nova Scotian colonists: And such are the following—Soon after Mr. Macaulay's return to the colony, in March 1796, he sent for the hundredors, and also for the leaders of the party, who had addressed a vague and groundless letter of complaint to the Court of Directors, against the Governor and Council, in July, 1795, during Mr. M's absence. The complainants hung down their heads, and appeared much ashamed of their rash conduct.—Neither drunkenness nor swearing prevail among the Nova Scotians to the extent which is too common in several more enlightened communities; and they universally observe Sunday.—The execution of warrants, when necessary, is become prompt among them; and the sentences of Courts, on offenders, are *now* complied with, without hesitation, on their part—A regular patrol is kept up during the night, which, in turn, is regularly gone upon by all the settlers.—The unusual alacrity and spirit which the Nova Scotians manifested in December last, when the colony was alarmed by the supposed approach of an enemy, ought also to be mentioned to their praise. Their defending the colony, indeed, is defending themselves; for they form the great mass of the inhabitants. They are divided into companies of 35 men; and a captain, lieutenant, and 3 serjeants, all chosen by themselves, are appointed to each. This organization, however, was not effected without a strenuous opposition from some of Moses Wilkinson's followers, who laboured hard to overturn the whole plan of a militia; but their voices were quite drowned, even by those of their own party. But, on the whole, the Directors are sorry to observe, that the general conduct of the Nova Scotian blacks, has been such as to excite their displeasure and regret.

They stated, in their last Report, that a delegate had arrived

arrived at Sierra Leone, in 1795, to negotiate a settlement for their constituents, a society of blacks, at Rhode Island, in America. The Governor and Council, thought proper, under all the circumstances, to encourage their migration; but, taught by experience, sent the delegate back for certificates from two clergymen and the President of the Abolition Society at Rhode Island. Not being able, however, to procure the certificates, the delegate and two others, took their passage for Africa, without them. The vessel happening to call at Goree, the delegate sold what goods he had for 3 or 4 slaves, and returned to America; leaving with one of his companions, a letter, in which (concealing his slave-dealing *manœuvre*) he recommended the bearer to Mr. M. adding, that he himself intended soon to return to Sierra Leone, with his family. The man applied to Mr. M. for leave to become a settler, which was refused; but Mr. M. consented to his remaining in the colony, and pursuing his trade, that of a taylor.

IN the children, however, of the Nova Scotian blacks, the Proprietors may reasonably hope for a body of colonists of a different description from their parents. Their great general improvement has been already noticed. To the exemplary labours of The Rev. Mr. Clarke, our clergyman, and of the different teachers, this pleasing change is to be attributed. It would, however, be almost natural to consider the difficulties which attend the correction of their errors, tempers, and manners, to be rendered insuperable, by the perverseness, passion, harshness, and gross immoralities, of too many of their parents; if the event happily did not prove the contrary.

A knowledge of religion and morals, reading, writing, arithmetic, and trades, are communicated to the boys.

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The principles of geography and navigation may be proper for such as may become seamen; and a little geometry, as connected with mensuration and land-surveying, may be usefully introduced. One of these young blacks is now in the accountant's office, where he makes himself useful, another is a clerk in the store, and several are apprentices to different trades.

The girls, in addition to reading and writing, are taught sewing, washing, ironing, cookery, and other parts of household economy. The regulations respecting their conduct, both in and out of school, are strict; and they themselves are so impressed with the advantages of being at school, that it is to be hoped, good effects may result from their carrying those regulations into their future conduct.

The Directors have the satisfaction of being able to assure the Proprietors, that the schools in the colony continue to prosper as much as could be wished, by the best friends of that important branch of the Company's establishment. They are not only attended by the children of the Nova Scotians, but by those of the natives, including the children of chiefs, and other respectable Africans. And the general proficiency of the scholars is indeed very encouraging; especially since the arrival of The Rev. Mr. Clarke, whose attention to the schools, as well as to the more immediate duties of his office, the Directors cannot sufficiently commend.

The total number of black scholars attending the schools, is not particularly stated in the dispatches; and hence, and from the repeated mention of their flourishing condition, it may be presumed that they are not fewer than in 1794, when they were stated at 300, exclusive of above 40 native children, many of them the sons of chiefs.

The Sunday evenings are particularly devoted to religious instruction, in which the scholars are stated to be making very great proficiency. And Mr. M. observes, that it is really surprizing to see, what anxious efforts to excel have been excited by The Rev. Mr. C's kind, engaging, and prudent conduct towards the children,

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Besides the general Sunday-school, at which all the young people attend, another meets at Mr. M's house, after the great one is dismissed. He had begun merely by catechising his own house boys; but the native children, one after another, voluntarily joined them, till they now amount to about 30. The little creatures, Mr. M. says, mount the hill with the greatest alacrity, led, no doubt, chiefly by the desire of distinguishing themselves, yet affording hopes of real improvement, from their thus eagerly seeking instruction.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. C. baptized 16 children in one day, after carefully examining and instructing their parents, who acted as sponsors. He afterwards entered upon a course of visits to the different families, at their own houses; a laudable practice, and which it would appear, he means to continue. And, in Oct. 1796, about 7 months after his arrival, he administered the sacrament to those persons, of suitable conduct and religious knowledge, who were inclined to receive it. He intends, for the future, to dispense it monthly.

On June 4th, 1797, the new church was opened; when Mr. C. preached from the text, 'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God;' on which occasion it was well filled. As Mr. Smart, the Rokelle chief, who was then at Free Town, speaks English tolerably well, and had shewn a more than ordinary wish for the success of our plans of civilization, Mr. M. took him to witness the improvement of the children in the Sunday schools. The distinctness of their recitations, attracted his notice very much, and he several times expressed a strong wish, that the youth of his own place had similar means of improvement. This afforded Mr. M. the opportunity he desired, of recommending to his good offices the Glasgow missionaries, then lately arrived. Mr. S. very readily undertook to patronize them, which is no mean point gained, considering the weight of his influence,

fluence, not only in Rokelle, where he resides, but in the Logo, his native country, and among others of the adjoining nations.

The Glasgow missionaries were accordingly appointed to proceed to the town of Mr. Smart in the Rokelle, which is a large place, and the key to other countries. Mr. Macaulay resolved on accompanying one of them. They proceeded to a little town, which Mr. Smart is building, for the convenience of trade. His large town, Rokelle, is about 15 or 20 miles higher up, and contains near 1000 inhabitants. Mr. M. related to Mr. Smart the object of his visit; and begged that he would now adopt the missionary as his son. He would introduce a better way of weaving; and his wife, when she came, could teach the females to spin and sew, (Mr. S. was much pleased with these circumstances). He would also teach his young people to read, write, and cypher; but above all, he would teach old and young, the knowledge of the true God, and of the way which leads to him and to happiness. Mr. S. said, he could not enough thank Mr. M. for having at last gratified his wish of having such a man. 'Say no more; he shall be the same as myself; he shall be my son; he shall want for nothing. My own house shall be his, till I can get one built for him. My canoes shall always be at his service. I have got two towns; he may stay at either.' He promised that the missionary should have boys enough to instruct; and observed, that for those things which his place furnished, such as rice, &c. he should be at no expence. Mr. M. spoke of terms for board; but he would not hear of any. Mr. M. then made Mr. S. a present of a suit of plain silk clothes. He always dresses in the European stile; and, though then taken by surprize, was in a cloth coat and shoes. Mr. M. adds, that he never before visited any native chief who was not either naked, or in a very great deshabille. This is not the case only of chiefs, but of European slave-traders also, whose customary dress is a check shirt and trowsers.

Moriboondoo,

Moriboondoo, a neighbouring Mahometan, who unites the characters of chief and priest, on hearing of Mr. M's arrival, came to Mr. Smart's, to pay his respects. This person having come from the interior country of Boondoo, on a trading expedition, Mr. Smart prevailed on him to settle in Rokelle, and make *Gris-Gris*, to which it is plain that Mr. S. though he affects a superiority to vulgar superstition, pays not a little regard. Moriboondoo, under Mr. S's patronage, has turned his *Gris-Gris* to so good account, that he now stands next to himself, in wealth and influence. His town is the best built by far, that Mr. M. has seen in Africa. His own house is about 100 feet long, about 14 high, and very wide, and being furnished with windows, and surrounded with piazzas, the apartments are cool, light and comfortable. Mr. M. was particularly struck with the extreme cleanliness and neatness of every thing about Moriboondoo's place. He pressed Mr. M. much to pass the day with him, and was going to slaughter a fat sheep, to entertain him; but on Mr. M's refusal to stay, he ordered it into the boat alive (as a black lady, two miles lower down, did a number of fowls, and a bag of rice.) From Moriboondoo also, Mr. M. had a promise of protection to the missionary; though he observes, it could scarcely have been so cordial, had the priest known that his object was to destroy, if possible, the influence of those *Gris-Gris*, whence his wealth was derived. The Directors think it right to insert this last observation, to prevent the Proprietors from entertaining too sanguine expectations from this promising mission. They have accounts of it down to December last, when intelligence having reached the missionary of the arrival of his wife and family, he came down to the Colony. Mr. Smart continued as kind as ever, had given him a comfortable apartment, in his own house, and frequently attended morning and evening prayers. But the wickedness of his people hath exceeded, on a closer acquaintance, any thing the missionary could possibly have conceived. He had

had set up a school, at which several children attended regularly; and it was promised that there should be more, when the rice harvest was over.

Some days after this, another missionary returned, who had been at the Bananas. Mr. Cleveland, and his son, had received him with great kindness; but had given no precise answer, as to the mission. He promised, however, to return one, as soon as he should have had time to consider of the proposal, and to consult his headmen. The missionary was much pleased with the place.*

In the same month (Dec. last) The Rev. Mr. Clarke, accompanied by one of the missionaries, sailed for the Rio Pongas, where they learned that the Foulah path was still shut.† But they were both of opinion that Free Port, and its neighbourhood, would be a commodious station for two missionaries.—The stoppage of the Foulah path, however, the tedious application necessary for the acquisition of the African languages, and the intervention of the rainy season, which entirely obstructs travelling, have prevented the missionaries from entering, so extensively as they might otherwise have done, on their labours. Nor should it be concealed, that some differences have taken place amongst themselves.

In the mean time, the five following stations for missionaries, are accounted the most eligible, viz. Free Port in the Rio Pongas. 2. The Bullom Shore. 3. Port Logo, and Rokelle. 4. The River Gallienas. 5. Cape Montserado (or Mesurado). Many other places might be pointed out, where a settlement might possibly be obtained for missionaries; but it would be prudent to

* From the Dispatches, of the 22d Jan. 1798, received since the last General Meeting, it appears that young Mr. Cleveland, who had come to Free Town to sell some camwood, brought with him his father's consent that two missionaries should be stationed at the Bananas.

† From the same Dispatches, the Directors have the satisfaction to state, that the Foulah path is again open.

continue

confine them, at present, to the above, because they are within the more immediate influence of the Colony. The objections, from the vicinity of slave-traders, are the strongest to this plan. It is to be hoped, however, that, by the time the missionaries shall have acquired such a knowledge of the African languages, those indispensable requisites, as shall enable them to begin an extensive course of instruction, the slave-trade shall have been abolished, and other obstacles removed. But if not, the missionaries will be more safe in the places above-mentioned, than at a greater distance; for the promising appearances of a good reception for them in some other places, are by no means to be implicitly relied on, at present.

Thus have the Directors laid before the Proprietors, as briefly as seemed consistent with perspicuity, the present state of the Company's affairs and prospects; and also some account of the obstacles with which they have had to contend, particularly those arising from the prevalence of the slave-trade. And they trust that the Proprietors will put a candid construction on their conduct, and will not essentially differ from them, in any of the leading principles, on which they have conducted the business of the Company.

APPENDIX.

THE Directors will here subjoin a brief account of some late discoveries at Sierra Leone, which could not be so properly inserted in the body of this tract.

Of the *Bark* mentioned in a former Report, a considerable quantity has since been brought to England; and, from the short experience which has been had of it, by some respectable physicians in London, it seems highly probable that the Sierra Leone Bark will prove equal, and in certain cases, superior to the Peruvian Bark. Doctor Afzelius, who discovered this valuable article, intends to give the world a scientifick account, and a figure, of the tree, which is quite a non-descript.—The same learned and industrious naturalist also thinks of publishing a description of the tree, which affords what is erroneously called the Bamboo-wine, and which he has ascertained to be a species of *Palm*, hitherto unknown to naturalists. The juice, as may be supposed, resembles the palm-wine properly so called.—To these, it is probable, he will add some account of another non-descript, the *Camwood*, which though it has been so long used in Europe, the tree was never before examined by any naturalist. A native, however, brought a young one from the interior, in consequence of a reward publicly notified by the Doctor.

Three species of *Coffee* are found to be natives of Sierra Leone. The first was discovered by Doctor Afzelius, in the more accessible parts near Free Town, and he afterwards observed it growing in Sherbro' and some other parts of the coast. But, being smaller than, and thought inferior

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inferior in flavour to, the common sort, it was neglected. The discovery of it, however, led him to suspect that a better species might be enveloped in the impervious forests of the mountains. And accordingly, in Feb. 1795, after the road to the mountains was formed, his conjecture was verified by one Andrew Moore, an industrious Nova Scotian Black, who accidentally picked up some of the berries, under a tree which had entirely shed its fruit, and which was so tall and so interwoven with the surrounding foliage, that the berries could not have been easily observed, from the ground. Many other coffee-trees of the same species, have since been found in the woods. The berries are rather smaller, and less pulpy, than those raised on the low lands in the West Indies; but the former, it should be observed, is in its natural state, and the latter has been, for ages, under cultivation which, it is well known, greatly improves most plants. Its flavour, however, is decidedly superior to that of the low land Coffee of the West Indies, and at least equal to that produced on the high grounds, in that part of the world. It is ripe about Nov. but the quantity to be procured from tall trees, entangled among immense forests is very small.--A third species of Coffee was discovered after Dr. Afzelius arrived in Europe, and very shortly before Mr. Gray left Sierra Leone, who brought home a specimen of it, for the Doctor. The berries are allowed by every naturalist to whom he has shewn them, to be the largest coffee berries they ever saw; but the quantity is too small to afford a trial of the flavour.

That these discoveries were not made earlier at Sierra Leone, will not appear surprizing to those who know the extreme difficulty, often the impossibility, of exploring mountainous tropical regions, covered with primeval forests, interlaced with an impenetrable maze of withs, briars and underwood; not to mention other obstructions. Besides, it was not known, even to naturalists, that there was more than one species of coffee. That species had been ascertained to be a native of the distant region of Arabia,

Arabia, whence the Europeans had transferred it to their colonies in America.* Thus farther research after other species of coffee was suspended; and, all things considered, it was not natural to expect that plant to be indigenous at Sierra Leone. The Portuguese indeed brought coffee from Brazil to the African Island of St. Thomas, within the last 10 years; and from thence, before the native species were discovered, it had been successfully introduced into Sierra Leone. The natives themselves appear to have been ignorant that their mountains produced this valuable article; though some of them recognized the tree when shewn to them, and said they had seen trees of the same kind, in another part of the country.

In Aug. 1797, Mr. M. obtained some curious information of what had been passing to windward. Near the Gambia, pretty far inland, is an extensive Mahometan kingdom, called Boondoo. The present king is very zealous in propagating his religion, and has, by fire and sword, extended it considerably, between the Gambia and the Senegal. Resolving to convert the great kingdom of Damel, before he set out on his mission, he sent an ambassador to the Damel king, enjoining him, and his people, to leave off drinking, and begin to pray, if they did not wish to incur his high displeasure. The king of Damel answered, that he neither would pray, nor leave off drinking; that his father had not done so, neither would he. Soon after, the Mahometan monarch entered Damel, at the head of 20,000 men. The Damel

* A coffee tree was carried from Mocha to Batavia, by the Dutch, in 1670. Some years afterwards, a young plant was sent from Batavia, to the botanical garden at Amsterdam. From Amsterdam, in 1718, seeds were transmitted to Surinam, and thence to Martinico; where the French brought the culture of coffee into system; and it is now more or less cultivated over all the West Indies. But it was not generally planted, in that part of the World, till after the year 1727.—Ellis's Hist. of Coffee.

king forbade his subjects to make at first, any opposition, and even enjoined submission to the invader, and a compliance with his religion. The king of Boondoo, not doubting their sincerity, marched on, without keeping open a communication with his own country. False reports having been spread of the Damel king's force, the invader was confounded at the sight of an army, equal to his own, and strongly entrenched. He had begun his retreat, when news reached him that another army, drawn together from the countries pretending submission, was advancing to meet him. A bloody engagement ensued, in which the flower of his army was cut to pieces, and himself taken prisoner. The king of Damel, who appears to be a very superior character, treated the royal captive with great respect. He one day asked the Boondoo king, 'What would you have done with me, had you taken me prisoner?' The captive prince boldly replied, 'I should have cut your throat.' 'You are my guest,' said the king of Damel, 'you have eaten and drunk at my table; I dare not hurt you; and should any of my people, who may not be so scrupulous, do you an injury, the reproach of violating the laws of hospitality will be mine. I wish to meet you on equal terms. There are horses and attendants; return home, but take care how you enter a second time into my territory.' The Boondoo king got back to his own kingdom, immediately levied a still more powerful army, and marched to meet the king of Damel.

The prisoners, taken in the battle, were sold, many of them at Gorée. An American slave-captain bought 30 of them. On his arrival in the Rio Nunez, news was carried to Teembo, the capital of the Foulahs, that 30 Boondoo people, were on board, in irons. The Foulah king was interested to rescue them, on account of their being Mahometans, and of a nation in strict amity with his own. He therefore sent to the slave-traders in the Rio Nunez, to redeem them. The traders all sneered at the message, and refused. In short, the American ship failed

with

with the unredeemed captives. No sooner was this known at Teembo, than the king interdicted all trade to the Rio Nunez, and Rio Pongas, uttering such violent threats, that most of the traders put themselves and their goods on board their craft, in order to be in readiness to depart, in case of an attack. Mr. Cooper alone, a faithful black servant of the Sierra Leone Company, and a trader in produce, dwelt in complete security. At length, a predatory excursion was made to the Rio Nunez, by the Foulahs, and 23 persons carried off, who belonged to a slave-trader there. The king has since agreed to an amicable settlement.

In the Rio Pongas, Mr. Macaulay met with an Arab, of the name of Modo Saidoo, a native of Banghazec, near the desert of Barca; but who had lived for the last 13 years, at Teembo, whence he had then come. He watched anxiously for the new moon, and, when he saw it, he broke out into a long prayer. He was acquainted with several islands in the Mediterranean, and with a variety of towns and countries mentioned in the reports of the African Association. He talked of Soudan, as an extensive region, including several kingdoms, and among the rest Calnah. He had travelled, in a caravan, to Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers, and had staid some weeks at each. He then went to Fez, in Morocco. Mr. M. desired him to describe his route thence to Teembo, which he did thus—Fez, Tafilet, then a desert of nine days journey, Taudeny, Aroan, Tombuftoo, Bambara, Bouré, Teembo. In Bouré, he said there was much gold. He appeared to be mistaken, however, in the distance between Teembo and Fombuftoo, making it only 35 day's journey; but it was 20 years since he had passed that way, and he took no notes. He promised to visit Sierra Leone, when he returned to the coast.

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N. B. Since the foregoing Report was printed off, Dispatches have been received from Sierra Leone, up to June 5th last. The health of the colonists continues good; only six deaths having taken place among the blacks from January to June, 1798; and among the whites, only one person, who having left Sierra Leone, on account of sickness, was captured by a French ship, and died on the coast. With this single exception, the whites in the Colony, have been exempted from mortality, for upwards of two years and a half, (see the note p. 1. above). Cultivation proceeds with considerable spirit; and, in general, the accounts continue to be very favourable.





